chiefs of branches of the royal clan which have become dominant in powerful settlements in the country. Thus the backing, if only passive, of all parts of the kingdom is necessary before a prince can be invested with the kingship. The participation of the halves of Shillukland in the making of a king is further emphasized in the intense opposition between them expressed in the drama of the investiture, which at the same time enacts the conquest and settlement of the country by Nyikang and his followers.

Without the collective participation of the halves of the country the investiture of a king, which takes place about a year after his election, cannot be held. The ceremonies would seem to have precisely this function, for the kingship represents the whole country and a king can only be made by rites in which the whole country takes part. Hence also in the investiture all sections of the population are represented. The royal clan, its dispossessed branch, the commoner clans, especially those whose ancestors were among the original followers of Nyikang, and the client clans, all have essential roles in the drama. Different settlements in different districts of Shillukland and different clans are responsible for performing various parts of the

ceremonial and for providing the various objects required in its enactment: silver and cloth from the Arabs of the north (presumably obtained by raiding in the old days), ostrich feathers for the effigies of Nyikang and his son, skins of the rare Mrs Gray antelope from Fanyikang island for the ceremonial robes of the king and the other more important participants in the ceremony, sacred spears, royal drums, fibre of the dom palm for ceremonial robes, cowrie shells, new huts, beasts for sacrifice, and so forth.

I will recount briefly the chief phases by which the kingship envelops the king-elect. The effigy of Nyikang, which is kept in the principal of his provincial shrines, at Akurwa in the most northerly district of Shillukland, is brought out by his priests, to whom the king-elect has to make considerable gifts for their service in this matter, and together with the effigy of his son Dak is taken to beat the northern bounds of the kingdom and then southwards, supported by an army of the north, to fight the king-elect for possession of the capital. As the effigies pass through each district the people gather to pay their respects to Nyikang and to escort him to the next district, for it appears that during the interregnum the effigy is believed to contain the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

danced alone inside the enclosure of the shrine, and occasionally came out and danced round outside it, her movements resembling those of the men rather than the women dancers. Time and rhythm were frequently changed, and it was obvious that the figures were traditional. A number of young men wore leopard and other skins suspended from the waist and hanging behind, almost all had decorated anklets and armlets of different kinds, belts of disc beads were worn round the waist, and plumes suspended from the forearms. Head-dresses varied a good deal; the characteristic "Tam o' Shanter", which we remembered as the dominant fashion for young warriors ten years earlier, was only worn by a few, the more popular style apparently being a flat, circular mass of felted hair on either side of the head; a great number had the head shaved and wore a wig or crown of sheep's wool. They carried millet or flowery grass stalks, some had clubs and parrying shields, and the ceremonial bow-derivative covered with strips of metal, called *dang*. Groups of children, decked in whatever finery they could get, took part in the dance, solemnly imitating their elders. The women, who danced in separate contingents, all carried hippo-hide whips, and, more frequently than the men, they left the large dancing-ground and passed in procession round the outside of the shrine enclosure. Whenever the drum ceased the dancing stopped immediately, and the clear note of a kudu horn trumpet could be heard.

After the dancing had continued for some hours Aker was noticed waiting in the *dual* with a number of men—we believe there were eight—all carrying spears. These were the spears of Nyakang, which had just been brought forth from the hut Kwayo; one large spearhead was covered by a sheath. A bull was led across the dancing-ground and then released, when it scampered into the shrine enclosure and wandered about unmolested. Aker, carrying her spear, danced within the enclosure, and then left it, and stepping high, danced round the drum, while the men went alone to the *khor* to wash the spears. The bull was now caught and held outside the entrance to the shrine. Almost before we realised that anything was happening—very quickly, yet without any apparent hurry or confusion—all the guests departed, and the dancing ground was all but deserted; besides Aker and a small group of chiefs and elders, only members of the Golobogu and Pamciri clans remained in the vicinity of the shrine. These men now sat in a row while Aker and Ayurial stood beside the bull, which was held on each side by ropes, a man grasping its tail. One by one

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PART I.—DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH FAFITI YOR.

Reth Fafiti Yor had been unwell for a month or two before September 1943, but custom did not permit him to acknowledge the fact, or tell people about it. The news of his illness became public early in September. He was being attended by a Shilluk medical assistant, but it was evident that his illness was becoming more serious and was not so simple as had been hoped. In the middle of the month the *reth* was visited by a British doctor, who diagnosed an intern obstruction, which might or might not be cancer. The *reth* did not wish to come to Malakal hospital, and the doctor saw no good reason to persuade him. He decided that he should stay under observation for a month. Some days later news began to come in that his condition was much worse; and in the afternoon of the 21st a message arrived in Malakal that the *reth* was unlikely to last the night. In fact, by the time the message arrived the *reth* was dead.

Piny bugge—"There is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be."

The day after the *reth* died he was laid in state in the house in Fashoda where he had passed away. The body lay on a mattress on its right side shrouded in white cloth. Some eight or nine women were fanning the corpse with fans made from the wings of wild geese. The women were the daughters of the *reth* and the daughters of *nal* Fadiet. None of the *reth's* wives were there. Two small gourds of water were placed by the knees of the body. The part of the house in which the body lay was screened off by grass mats made by the *reth's* wives some three feet high, and above the mat was a curtain of white cloth, which was drawn aside for people as they paid their last respects. There were no signs of mourning or wailing in Fashoda.

The next night the body of the *reth* was carried secretly to Golbainy five miles north of Fashoda, where it was at once buried in the *reth's* private village in the house of his senior wife. It is traditional for the *reth's* body to be sealed into a Shilluk house near Fashoda and not buried for a year after his death. *Reth* Fafiti on his deathbed expressed

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
F223 Skolnik F223

346
H43
778

Tue Parthenon East on rock Acropolis.
Pythagoras and Ictinus go up into the mount Asserus to make peace with the rock.

913
H43

Tue Forth Day : Greece Day.
The rock comes down from Asserus.
He is mount from the left and dressed in a Mac Coxy antelope skin, and behind him is the fan made from the wings of a Saddle-bill Stork.

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19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1944) 1946
F223 Shilluk F223

their return journey to Akurwa some weeks later. The *reth* himself remained up on the mound, while the crowds dispersed to their homes or sat about drinking and chatting round the houses of Fashoda.

(W.P.G.T.)

The final ceremonies on 13th. March consisted of a general assembly of all important chiefs and elders from all over the Shilluk country. Speeches were made, mostly of exhortation. The *reth* was confirmed as supreme judge of the Shilluk people; and finally he was ceremonially shown round Fashoda by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang stopping at each house in turn.

The scene was laid in the open space south of Atarwic, and all the chiefs had been summoned by drum in the early morning. At the bottom of the mound we erected the *kwon* (sacred stool), draped in white cloth as before; two spears, one wrapped in cloth, were held by bearers, one on each side of the *kwon*, and a small kettle-drum shaped like a bowl, the property of the Kwa Wang who live mostly round Detwok, was set on the ground close by with its drummer. The lancebearers and the drummer were all from Kwa Wang.

Facing this stage were the assembled chiefs and elders of the Shilluk, with no conspicuous absentees, each one sitting down holding a spear. There was a clear space of some ten yards between the *kwon* and the chiefs.

In front of the entrance to the huts on Atarwic there was a sheep held tethered. Shortly the *reth* emerged from the huts followed by a group of women, wives and sisters: he and his important entourage were dressed in white with Mrs. Gray skins over the garments.

After stepping over the tethered sheep, the *reth* was led down the slope by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang. His retainers followed him, and most of them stepped over the sheep too; when he reached the bottom of the slope he was lifted on to the sacred stool, and sat facing the chiefs with his retainers grouped behind him: immediately

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJI3 Shilluk FJI3

behind him was a bearer carrying a fan made from both wings of the Saddle-billed stork joined in the middle like the letter W. He was wearing a silver bracelet on each wrist, and came down from the summit carrying two spears, each head downwards. After being seated on the stool, these spears were taken back by the chief of the Kwe Nyikang to Atarwic. A big white bull was then brought by the Ororo and tied to a stake north of the assembly.

Then the chiefs came forward one by one carrying a spear, head downwards: sometimes two got up together and a short argument arose, but the question was quickly settled by precedence. Some forty or fifty chiefs and elders each had their say in turn, and after each speech the spokesman thrust his spear into the ground: if his speech met with approval (not we think the approval of the *reth* but of the drummer) he was given a tattoo on the drum, and escorted part of the way back to his place by the drummer drumming. The distance he was escorted depended on the merit of his speech. One chief, of Bur Nyilim, came with no spear, and instead he laid a small object, probably a head, reverently on the ground.

Most of the speeches, each of which lasted between two and five minutes, were rather trite; the following is a resumé of the more common or interesting points:-

"Anei has been elected *reth* without dissentient voice; all the Shilluk from Mwomo up to Tonga want him as their *reth*."

"All classes of Shilluk society, *kwe reth*, *bang reth*, and *colo* recognise you, Anei, as *reth*, for there was no fight on your appointment."

"The *reth* is alone and has no favourites."

"Assist your chiefs and help them to keep order."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by the chief of Tonga: "our job is not to keep order; that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat."

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Ampejar. The *kwe* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and these armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwe* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy.

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwow*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine.

A short time afterwards, the *reth*'s feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adol* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it* was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed.**

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adol*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

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* From the *kwe* Nyikwe of Lim.

** In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adol*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Akec, to Cal (or Burre, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ukedo. Nyikang was apparently outraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realized that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ahwalo*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jago*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation.

24: Hawaii E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 F723 Shillish F723

Then Nyikang emerged from his shrine in an angry mood. The people fell in procession behind the effigies and, dancing and singing, circled the shrine and then set off for the *pul* Dagor where the whips of the *kwa* Nyikwom are stored. Both Nyikang and Dak entered this house, and when they came out again a third effigy, that of Cal,[a] was with them. Cal was the brother of Dak and his effigy is made with grey (female) ostrich feathers in contrast to the black feathers of the others. The drum began to beat louder and faster, the singing increased in tempo and all the time the crowds gathered. Simultaneously at the other end of Fashoda, the *reth*'s forces were gathering round the mound, the *reth*'s police in their scarlet *kaus* again conspicuous on the left flank.

There followed a succession of rallies by the assembled forces of Nyikang and the *reth* from opposite ends of the capital. First Nyikang would surge forward and the shield-bearer of the *reth* would conduct the temporary retirement of the *reth*'s forces, ranking the bulls inside the shield in defiance of Nyikang. Then it would be the turn of the *reth*'s followers to advance menacingly and for Nyikang to withdraw in the same manner. Finally a bull was brought forward to be cast on the ground so that the *reth* could step over it before going on to seize *Nyakwer*.[b] Once again the cowing was re-managed and with a disdainful wave of his hand, the *reth* motioned to his retainers to drag the bull out of the way, and swept on to wrest *Nyakwer* from the clutches of Nyikang. Miles walks began to fly and as the *reth*'s party returned to the safety of *Athurvic*, an unsuccessful counter-attack was staged by Nyikang. Its failure was obvious and the drummers then beat the retreat of Nyikang and his men towards the shrine. They did not enter it immediately and although Nyikang had never reached the summit of the mound, he and his followers marched round the shrine and appeared to be about to renew the onslaught. Such forces of the *reth* as remained on the ground seemed to melt away into the host of Nyikang, but somehow the new attack never materialised, despite much drumming and singing, marching and counter-marching for a period of some ten minutes, while the *reth*'s guard stood watch on the slopes of *Athurvic*. Nyikang, tired of the proceedings, finally withdrew into his shrine, while Dak, Cal and his supporters, perhaps disappointed, gathered outside to sing and dance his praises. The battle for *Nyakwer* had ended.

Speech Day

The sequel of events on this occasion followed former precedents. The *reth* came down from *Athurvic* surrounded by the *orono* and sat down on the covered stool, while a fan made from one wing of a saddle bill stork was held to shade him. He did not, however, step over a sheep as had happened at previous installations. The chiefs of the country, with the exception of those from the east bank who had been discouraged from ascending on account of the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis there, sat opposite the *reth* on the ground at about twenty-five yards distance.

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[a] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 79, Note 21.

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two lugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-